1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

general may be touched upon. The women have pain the first day, headache, and sometimes cramps, which diminish the second and third days. During their first menses they do not wash in the sea, but they do so during the succeeding ones. The attitude towards their monthly illness, in general, is that it is a nuisance. There is also a feeling of shame about it as far as men are concerned. The women would be very much ashamed to have men see their menstruating blood. In the past, when straw aprons were worn, they always inserted extra straw in them, and to-day they wear a black loin-cloth instead of a light-coloured one. There is no other protection. They do not have intercourse while they are menstruating, and regard such a custom as disgusting.

Some time within a month after the first menses the marriage rites are held. Betrothal has already been described.

WEDDING RITES

The husband-to-be has been making presents to his future wife and her clan relatives since he first secured their consent. Now come the final rites and the payment for the bride. Tsuros had her first menses in the beginning of November, and her wedding rites were held on November 23rd. Preparations began on November 14th, when all the women of Lesu went to Panat, the hamlet where Tsuros lives with her parents, to practise their dancing. The next day bananas were buried in the sand on the beach at Panat. From then on, until the day of the rites, the women practise their dances every night at this hamlet. Tsuros, the bride-to-be, is sometimes present participating in the rehearsal, but on other nights she is away crab-hunting on the reef. She does not dance during the rites, and her absence or presence at rehearsals seems to mean nothing to the other women. One night when the women were dancing around a fire and the full moon was shining upon them, they were in a

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

pigs are conspicuously displayed. One heap has been contributed by the *Telenga* women (the same moiety as Tsuros), and the other by *Kongkong* women.

As soon as everyone has arrived, which is about an hour or so before noon, the dancing begins. The first dance called *Kapila* from one of the Tabar Islands is by the *Kongkong* women. It is performed in two-line formation. Next, the *Kongkong* women from Ambwa do their dance called *Kaya*. They are followed by *Kongkong* men from Lesu, who, dressed in leaf petticoats and armed with spears, do a warlike dance in two-line formation called *Rumus*. The fourth dance is by *Kongkong* women, mostly from the hamlet of Onel. All these dances are in honour of Tsuros (who is *Telenga*), and during the dancing her clan relatives fling presents of tobacco and loin-cloths to the dancers.

Now the *Telenga* people are supposed to dance in honour of Pirau, the bridegroom, who is *Kongkong*, but at the last moment these dances are called off because the sky looks as if rain will come down soon. (It is the beginning of the rainy season, and heavy deluges are an almost daily occurrence.) It is desired to finish the rites before the storm breaks.

Next comes the distribution of the marriage payment, which was made several months ago, when the circumcision rites were performed. At that time Pirau's parents had come from Kanopil, on the west coast, and given him five *tsera* collected from his clan relatives. He, in turn, gave it to Tsuros' maternal relatives (her mother, her maternal grandfather and grandmother). The payment was not made in public or ritually. They accepted it, and, after considering the matter, decided that there was not sufficient to give all Tsuros' *Telenga* relatives, to whom it was proper that payment be made. They foresaw that if they gave to some and not to others there would be much talk and gossip, which they must avoid in order not to diminish their social prestige. So the members of Tsuros' clan, her mother, her mother's

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

mother, a classificatory sister and brother[1] contributed additional *tsera*. When I asked if this were not irregular, and why the members of Pirau's own clan, or at least moiety, did not assist him, I was told that if Pirau had asked them before he made the original payment they would certainly have helped him.[2] But he had not asked them. After he had made the payment he could not ask, nor could they offer, more. The payment was finished. Then it was that some of the members of Tsuros' clan decided to supplement the payment in order to maintain their prestige (not Pirau's). He need not repay them, but it is considered that they will be reimbursed with *tsera* at other marriage rites by those to whom they now give it.

Another marriage payment, made by Biga for his wife Nut, is more according to traditional custom. This marriage payment consists of twelve *tsera*, tobacco, and seven or eight loin-cloths. He has given four *tsera*, and the rest is contributed almost entirely by his clan relatives, although a few of his father's clan relatives have also assisted. Biga's maternal uncle, his *tata*, has been the leader in collecting the payments. (Biga works on a plantation, and has not so much free time.) The same maternal uncle goes with Biga and hands over the payment to Biga's future wife's mother and sister. Biga makes no return payment to those who have contributed to this payment, but at some future time he will assist kin of his in their marriage payments.

At the wedding rites for Tsuros the payment is ritually distributed. Sitting on the ground, the *tsera* on a mat between them, are Kokala, Tsuros' mother, and Towi and Nunda, her maternal grandfather and grandmother. Beiki, her father, stands to one side. Towi, her grandfather, stands up,

[1] These were respectively a mother's father's sister's son's daughter and a mother's father's mother's sister's son.

[2] It must be remembered that Pirau comes from a village on the west coast and has no clan relatives at Lesu.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

holding the *tsera* in plain view, and calls out the name of the person who is to receive it, and Beiki then hands it over. No one presses forward to claim his *tsera*, and sometimes Beiki has to search for several minutes to find the person whose name has been called. The distribution is as follows: The five *tsera* which Pirau paid are given to the following five people: (1) Tsuros, his future wife; (Tsuros as ego in following kinship terms) (2) Batu, who is a classificatory daughter; (3) Pakul and (4) Tukan, who are classificatory brothers; and (5) Korat, a classificatory son. All these are members of Tsuros' clan. Nine other people, members of Tsuros' moiety and classificatory kindred, also receive *tsera* which her clan relatives had contributed.

Besides these *Telenga* people, certain *Kongkong* people are given *tsera*. First, there is Boluth, to whom Tsuros stands in the relationship of a classificatory cross-cousin's daughter, and therefore a preferred mate.[1] The payment now is regarded as a return for presents of food he has given her, and as a kind of compensation for his loss of a possible mate. Another piece of *tsera* is given to Luasaw, a little boy whose maternal uncle, also named Luasaw, had been betrothed to Tsuros. Luasaw, the senior, is dead, and his namesake and nephew gets the payment in his place. To the former she had stood in the relation of a classificatory cross-cousin's daughter, and therefore a preferred mate. Ongas, another man who stands in the relationship of a preferred husband, is likewise given one *tsera*.

Now Towi hands over one *tsera* to Pirau's father for the pig which he gave for the feast. Then Kokala, Tsuros' mother, gives one *tsera* to her husband for the pig which he gave for their daughter's feast. It is of interest to note how at this time the clan relationship is stressed, in that the girl's own father is paid for his contribution by the girl's mother. In contrast, her maternal grandmother, who has also given

[1] Boluth is Tsuros' mother's father's mother's sister's daughter's son.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

585 a pig, refuses the payment which is offered her. She says
583 that she wishes to give the pig without payment to her granddaughter's feast. Then Tsuros gives her pig to Pirau, and he pays her three *tsera* for it, and he gives his pig to Tsuros, who in turn pays him three *tsera*. This is the perfect reciprocal exchange, in which exact equals are the objects of the transaction.

585 When the distribution of the *tsera* has been completed, a
537 group of *Kongkong* women from Lesu run on the scene, carrying knives, baskets, fish-nets, and other implements used in procuring food, and circle around the pile of food contributed by the *Telenga* people. Each of the *Kongkong* women in turn holds up an implement and speaks. One says: "With this knife my husband cuts down the bush and clears the ground for the garden. Then I plant in the garden, and after that we have much taro to eat."

Another speaks, holding a basket: "All the men eat pig, fish, and taro in the cemetery. Now, when my husband's stomach is full he puts the remainder of the food in the basket and brings it out to me to eat."

One, holding a fishing-spear, says: "Suppose I am hungry for fish: my husband goes out fishing, spears a fish, and later I eat it."

Holding a knife, another one says: "This knife, I work with it. My husband does not know how to work. He just strolls about all the time. I must do his work. It is I who have to mend the garden fence. It is I who clear the ground where the taro is to be planted. I work with this knife." Loud laughter from the audience! The laughter is directed against the lazy husband and not the woman. More speeches of this same nature follow.

When the *Kongkong* women have finished, four *Telenga* women run on the scene. They carry no implements of work, and they stand round the pile of food contributed by the members of Pirau's moiety. First Kokala, the mother of

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

538

A WAR DANCE

583

THE MARRIAGE PAYMENT. THE BRIDE'S CLAN RELATIVES ARE SITTING AROUND THE MAT ON WHICH THE PAYMENT RESTS. HER MATERNAL UNCLE IS HOLDING UP ONE STRING BEFORE DISTRIBUTING IT

[FACING P. 149]

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

465 dancing at the funeral rites for an old woman the dancers
535 were urged on by the shouts of the old woman's daughter,
437 who told them of the tobacco they would receive in the morning. It is obvious that both men and women enjoy their dancing, and that payment for it is not a primary consideration. The dancing is a very deep and integral part of the traditional and ritual part of the life of the society, as well as a means of self-expression for the individual. Yet dancing falls into the general culture pattern, and, since it is considered a service to those for whom the rites are held, it is paid for. The dancing teacher, who may teach a variation of an old dance, or a completely new one learned on another island, or rehearse the old steps, receives his payment too. At the end of the rehearsals, and just before the rite is to be performed, he receives a stick of tobacco from each of his "pupils."

465 Another ritual service which always receives its compensa-
767 tion is that of carrying a corpse from the house where it had been resting to its grave in the cemetery. Those who perform
616 this service are always of the opposite moiety from the dead
437 person, and, while it is a ritual obligation for them, they are paid with a small piece of *tsera* or one shilling.

437 Even for sexual enjoyment there is a payment of currency.
837 For all extra-marital intercourse the man makes a payment of one *tsera* to the woman, who hands it over to her husband. This aspect will be considered more fully in the discussion of sexual life, but it must be noted here that the woman would consider it disgraceful if the payment were not made, and that there is nothing similar in the payment to the custom of prostitution of our Western civilization. A woman does not sleep with her lover for the payment any more than he or she dances for a payment, but the payment is part of it. Underlying the payment is the principle of reciprocity which is such an integral part of the whole culture.

583 Marriage payments are in the same class. We have already
437

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

seen how the husband makes a payment of *tsera* to the mother and close clan relatives of the bride, and how he is assisted by his own clan relatives in collecting the necessary payment. But the payment could in no way be considered a purchase. It has the binding force of a rite, and has the same function that the church or court-house has in the marriage rites of our culture. The marriage of a girl involves no loss to her clan. Residence is matrilocal; the community receives a new member and hence a new worker; the clan relatives receive frequent gifts of fish and services in the garden from the husband. No family marries off a daughter to receive the payment, yet she could not be married without the payment any more than a girl in a Western civilization could be married without a church or legal ceremony of some kind.[1]

We can see how the principles of payment and reciprocity are much more than economic laws, operating exclusively in the realm of barter, but are instead forces underlying the whole culture. Nothing, with the exception of food between kindred and friends, can be given or done for nothing.

TRADE BETWEEN GROUPS—SALE OF A *MALANGGAN*

The principle of reciprocity applies to group as well as to individual, and is brought out in the sale of a *malanggan*, as described below. This transaction comes under the heading of trade, and is the sale of the right to make a ritual carving and the rites connected with it. The *malanggan* and its significance in mortuary rites are described in Chapter VIII. Here only the economic import of the sale is noted.

Poinbi and Kanot, of the village of Logagon, about twenty-five miles from Lesu, and belonging to another linguistic

[1] When I described our marriage customs to my native friends, they were quite scandalized at the lack of payment, and asked how it could be a true marriage. They were almost equally shocked at the Continental custom of the bride bringing a dowry. One native compared a Christian marriage with no payment to the mating of pigs.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

Wife number one has a certain precedence over the other. When the husband returns from fishing he gives the fish to wife number one, who then divides it with wife number two. The same order is followed with baked pig, or any other food which the husband brings home from a feast. Number one will always give half the food to number two, but the former would be very angry and feel insulted if her husband should not give the food to her first.

A woman may also have two husbands, known as husband number one (*tamuth towanmaga*, man first time) and number two (*tamuth inil*, man later), in the order in which she has acquired them. She calls both of them *nunga malis*, my husband. There is no evidence of a woman ever having more than two husbands at one time. Number one makes the marriage payment to his wife's maternal relatives in the traditional manner. Number two, however, pays the *tsera* to number one and not to his wife's clan relatives. Should husband number one die, number two will stay on with the woman and make no additional payment to her clan relatives. It is considered that the payment is finished when he pays number one at the beginning of the marriage.

Both husbands bring the woman fish, pig, etc., and she cooks for each one. The three eat together, the two men with the bundle of taro between them, and the woman close by. Sometimes the three sleep in the same house, three beds in a row, and the woman between the two men. At other times husband number two will sleep in the men's house, and the woman will sleep with her husbands alternately. There appears to be no quarrelling between the two men. The children of the woman call both men *mum* (father). In the past these polyandrous marriages were the exception rather than the rule, and there is only one such marriage in Lesu now. The first husband died during my visit, and the second then became husband number one.

Monogamous marriages also existed in the past, and

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

When Nunda was ill (during my visit) her husband was a model of affectionate concern, and Kokala, Pulong, and all the other women of her clan looked after her. She recovered.

Tsangamor was born in the hamlet of Onel. Before her first menses she chewed the sterility leaves which an older woman gave her. She said that after chewing the leaves her stomach "dried up," and that she therefore could not have children.

She had no sexual relations before her first menses, and when they occurred there was the usual feast. But she did not marry at this time. Instead she had many lovers in the bush. She lived with one man from Tabar for some time, and he gave her four *tsera*. Finally he went back to Tabar. Her other lovers gave her one *tsera* each time she went to the bush with them. As she had no husband, she kept all the *tsera* for herself, and acquired a basket full of currency. As far as I can make out, her lack of a husband was due to her not wishing one.

Then later she deemed it wise to have a husband. Her value as a potential wife had in no way diminished because of her previous lovers. She now married Landow, with whom she had no sexual intercourse before the marriage rites. He made the usual payment of five *tsera*, pigs, and gifts of fish and bananas to her mother and two sisters, and also as was customary worked in her mother's garden. This marriage took place about a year or two after her menses. Landow came from the hamlet of Panat, and after his marriage lived in his wife's hamlet, Onel.

This marriage lasted for about three years, when Murrow from the village of Langania came along and took her away from Landow. Tsangamor told her husband that she did not like him any more, and that she did like Murrow. Landow was not cross, and said, "All right, you go." Murrow now

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

Teramae's death Murra told him that she would like to have him marry her and look after the children. At first Luasaw did not want to marry her, because she was so much older than he. But all his relatives urged him on, saying that Nunda would give him plenty of pigs, which she did. Then he paid four *tsera* to her brother and they were married. After four or five years Luasaw died, also of an illness in the leg. There were no children by this marriage.

She did not remarry, and now lives quite happily, to all appearances, with Mamus, her sister's daughter's daughter, who is a classificatory granddaughter. Murra is still able to work in the garden, and is an active member of the community.

Molung is a young woman, probably in the late twenties. She was born in the hamlet of Penguli, and had the usual childhood. At her first menses there were the traditional rites, after which came her marriage to Manaumat, who paid five *tsera* to the following clan relatives: her mother, her mother's mother's sister's two sons, her brother, and her sister. Her father as usual received nothing. Her husband came from the hamlet of Sapone, and after the marriage they both lived in her hamlet of Penguli, where he built a house.

She had no sexual intercourse before marriage, and after it she had many lovers. She remembers six lovers well, and others whom she cannot recall. She has intercourse with her husband a couple of times a week. She did not eat either the sterility or abortive leaves, and has had six children, two of whom died in infancy. One is married, and the other three are still young and living at home. They are all betrothed. Molung seems to be living a quiet, untroubled life.

In Kawitti's life there was more contact with white culture. She was born in the hamlet of Tarengam, and her father died when she was an infant and her mother when she was